Workers of the World, Unite!

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KOREA IN FLAMES -- THE NAPALM ATROCITY

(See Page 3)

Eisenhower Hurls New Threat of World War

CIO Leaders Use Shady Means to Sell Democrats

By Myra T. Weiss
SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate

I think the CIO national leaders are using very shady means to sell the Democrat ticket of Stevenson and Sparkman to their members and American labor generally. I was astounded when I read the Aug. 18 CIO News to find a crude fraud attempted in the special section that presented a selected voting record of all members of the Senate and House.

Particularly, the listed votes of the Senate appeared to be picked with an eye to concealing Senator Sparkman's ultra-reactionary record against Negro rights.

The CIO political "brain-trusters" carefully selected 17 votes in the Senate and 16 in the House which would put the Democrats in a more favorable light than the Republicans, so far as voting "right" in terms of the CIO stand on various bills is concerned.

I observed that all a measure seemed to need to make it "right" for Philip Murray and his colleagues was for it to be backed by Truman.

The votes listed did not go back farther than 1951, so it was possible, for instance, to evade Sparkman's two votes to continue the anti-FEPC filibuster in 1950, or the nine other times he has voted for Jim Crow and segregation since 1948. Leave out Sparkman's white-supremacist record and you leave out the most significant part of his political program and policies.

There was one Senate vote listed by the CIO News that is more telling than all the others put together. That was on the McCarran Immigration Bill. This bill, which "fosters the concept of second class citizenship," was supported by a majority of Democrats in the House and Senate. A majority of House Democrats also voted for an amendment to instruct Truman to use the Taft-Hatley Act on the steelworkers. These same Democrats are hot for Stevenson and Sparkman.

No matter how you select, weight and distort the voting records, you can't get around the truth that the Democrats and their candidates are just as anti-labor and Jim Crow as the Republicans.

Best Week Yet Recorded for Election Fund

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party sent in $1,653 this week on their pledges to help finance the Presidential Election and carry on the challenge to the constitutionality of the reactionary Trucks Law in Michigan. This amount, the biggest weekly since the campaign was launched, boosts the national total paid through Aug. 25 to $12,098, and puts the campaign pretty much on schedule with 71%. Another week like this and that 6% gap will be closed.

Allentown stepped forward to share over-the-top honors with **Connecticut.** In addition to these two branches, nine others are ahead of schedule: **Cleveland, Philadelphia, Akron, St. Louis, Boston, Chicago, Minneapolis-St Paul, New York and Buffalo.**

Philadelphia doubled its score, winning fourth place on the scoreboard. **Alma Seton** says: "I know you will cheer when you get this $147 on our pledge, leaving us a balance of $52 to be paid. Maybe we'll go over the top after all! Several comrades have increased their pledges."

Akron made a big leap and now holds fifth place. "We hope,"

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Beinin Files For Congress In Chicago

11,000 Signatures For SWP Candidate

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, ILL., Aug. 24 — Irving Beinin, State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, filed more than 11,000 signatures for Congress in the 2nd Congressional District last week. Although technically an independent, Beinin will campaign on the full program advocated by the S.W.P. Presidential candidates, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss.

In the opening speech of his campaign at the S.W.P. annual picnic, Beinin gave full support to the striking farm equipment workers and to the demands of the packinghouse workers whose unions are in negotiations with the meat trust.

He pointed out that workers would be in a far stronger position on the picket line and in the negotiations with the bosses if they had their own party dedicated to the interests of the working people instead of the bosses.

Beinin spoke out sharply against the coming visit of the House Un-American Committee and pledged full support of the S.W.P. to any victim of this union-busting committee.

His opponents in this election will be Republican Congressman Vail, head of the anti-union Illinois Manufacturers Association and leading red-baiter in this area. The Democrats are running B. O'Hara, a Truman "liberal."

Because of restrictive election laws, the SWP will not be on the Presidential ballot in Illinois, but in the Congressional campaign, Beinin will push for withdrawal of American troops from Korea, and for a strong FEPC law. He will speak out, in Stevenson's home state, against the Democratic Party's bloc with the white supremacist South against the Negro people. Challenging Vail and O'Hara, Beinin offers the workers of the 2nd congressional district and the whole city the opportunity to hear and support an anti-war Socialist candidate.

Irving Beinin is a sheet-metal worker by trade who has been an active union fighter for many years. In 1951 he was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Alderman of the 5th Ward.

IRVING BEININ

Running on Truman's Record

SHAKY FUTURE OF 2-PARTY SYSTEM FORESHADOWED BY McCORMICK BOLT

By George Clarke

In appearance the major-party 1952 campaign is the deadest, dullest, most mediocre contest for the Presidency since the days of Harding and Coolidge. Its dominant note is not bitter conflict, but bipartisan agreement between the major parties on all important issues. We can thank the Democratic and Republican candidates for **openly** revealing the fundamental unity that exists **in fact** between the capitalist parties.

Eisenhower nods his "me too" assent for the retention — at least for the time being — of the Democratic status quo. His only amendment — obviously! — is to change the managers of things-as-they-are. Stevenson "me toos" Eisenhower's "crusade" to clean up the "mess" in Washington, but he wants the new "faces" to be Democrats — naturally! — instead of Republicans.

SAME POSITIONS

The candidates may be more amicable, gentlemanly types than those who have sought the presidency in the last two decades. But their affable conduct is due less to their personalities than to their identity of position on the plans and preparations for U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary war. This is the overriding issue before America today, dominating domestic politics and determining its direction. If everyone agrees that war is America's big enterprise, what need is there to bother about Negro rights, Taft-Hartley, taxes and the high cost of living?

But everyone does not agree — contrary to appearances and to the performance of the bi-partisan rivals for the Presidency. The conflict between America's working millions and the reigning monopoly oligarchy has not been obliterated. The striving of the Negro people for full equality continues. The discontent of a substantial section of the population with the Korean war and its effects remains. Behind the facade of unity a great social storm is gathering that will eventually sweep away the fictions and lies of the present two-party system.

McCORMICK'S BREAK

Colonel McCormick's dramatic break with the Republican Party foreshadows this eventuality from the right, as Congressman Powell's bitter denunciation of the Democratic Party for "betrayal" does from the left. The similarity of approach between representatives of the two most divergent and mutually antagonistic interests on the American scene is of more than passing interest. Neither McCormick nor Powell has an alternative to the old parties' presidential candidates. Both propose a boycott — although Powell only tentatively. But both are convinced that the present alignment cannot last and are seeking an alternative for the future.

Colonel McCormick cannot be brushed aside as a midwest isolationist "screwball" who has spent most of his life fighting King George and the Redcoats.

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Gov. Stevenson Echoes Provocative Policy of Gun-Waving General

By Farrell Dobbs
SWP Presidential Candidate

I have repeatedly warned, since I was chosen to head the Presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party, that the election of either a Republican or Democrat in November will lead to atomic war.

Now the bristling imperialistic speech made by Eisenhower at the American Legion convention Aug. 25 and the "me-too" speech made by Stevenson to the same audience Aug. 27, has posed the issue of war or peace squarely before the American people.

Eisenhower chose the gathering of jingoistic Legionaires at which to declare his belligerent policy of "pushing back Communist influence," to the borders of the Soviet Union.

Basically, this is not a new policy. It was implicit in the Truman Doctrine of "containment." What is new is the open declaration of aggressive aims against established governments.

Eisenhower listed all of Eastern Europe, China, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Northern Korea, Northern Japan and the northern half of Indo-China as countries whose governments must be destroyed. It must be assumed that he would automatically add to the list any nation, such as Iran or Egypt, which refuses to follow U.S. dictates.

MEANS NEW KOREAS

What does such a policy mean? Above all it means repeating the intervention in Korea and its bloody consequences on a global scale. It means war with China, and ultimately war with the Soviet Union.

Such is the plan of the brass hat candidate Eisenhower. Does Stevenson differ with him? Stevenson did not mention Eisenhower's speech when he followed the Republican candidate on the rostrum of the Legion. He did not take issue with the aggressive policy advocated by the general. On the contrary, he echoed the general program of military aggression and war against the anti-capitalist sector of the world, stating: "We must press forward to improve our position and not hesitate or waver." In the double talk of capitalist politics, this means step up the war preparations.

Stevenson knew what Eisenhower's speech meant. He knew it was a "violent" warmongering speech. But Stevenson did not warn the people against the con-

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Raps War Parties

FARRELL DOBBS

Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke
SWP Campaign Manager

Formally speaking, our 1952 presidential campaign will be kicked off this week by our two valiant candidates. Farrell Dobbs begins his coast-to-coast tour on September 3 in Cleveland. And Myra Tanner Weiss begins her trek for socialism and labor on the west coast in Portland, Oregon.

Dobbs will spend all of September coming east from Cleveland covering important cities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusets and New York. He will begin his October schedule in Los Angeles working his way up the coast and then east to Minnesota's twin cities, to Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Louis and winding up in the week before election in Michigan.

Myra's schedule, just as busy, is a little less complicated to read as she will come directly east from Seattle speaking in key cities in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. She will wind up her tour back in California.

That's a mite of speaking, as your campaign manager knows from personal experience. It includes not only addresses at SWP public meetings — which we hope you'll all come to — but press and radio interviews, speeches at symposiums, universities, at factory gates and outdoors in workers' neighborhoods. But don't worry. They've got the stamina — because they have the conviction that comes from being right in the biggest fight in the world today — the fight to change it.

RESPONSE TO RADIO BROADCASTS

I said the campaign "formally speaking" started this week because we really began with the nation-wide television and radio broadcasts of the candidates during and after our convention in mid-July. They were the biggest blow in favor of the socialist cause and in the struggle against the imperialist war and the witch hunt and in favor of equal rights for all races for many a year.

You are aware of the response from the many letters published on these pages. They show that under the cover of seeming unanimity there is opposition, protest, critical voices. We plan to stir up that discontent as much as possible during this campaign. And that's not because we're professional "agitators." It's the only way to put a crimp in the plans of the bi-partisan militarists, witch-hunters, labor-haters and race-supremacists. Its the way to start the ball rolling for the great Labor Party which will one day give the working people the rights and representation they properly deserve.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING?

I hope no one has the idea that the radio and TV time our candidates had is some sign of "democratic rights for all." Not on your tintype! For every 15 minutes Dobbs and Weiss received, the capitalist party candidates received from two to five hours. And that doesn't include the week-long coverage on radio and TV given to the Republican conventions. We have submitted our complaints to the Federal Communications Commission. All we wanted was our rights according to the law supposedly providing for "equal time" and "equal opportunity" for all candidates.

Thus far the only answer we have had from them is the threadbare alibi upholding "unequal time and opportunity." They upheld the right of the networks to give time galore to the candidates of the old parties before the conventions because they were "nominees" — and presumably Dobbs and Weiss weren't. Figure that one out if you can.

Pullman Porters Hit Both Parties

The Black Worker, official paper of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL, is unique among most of the labor and liberal press: So far, at least, it has not tried to falsify, whitewash or cover up the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket.

The August issue of **The Black Worker** has a full two-page editorial on "The Negroes' Battle for Civil Rights in the U.S.A." which reflects the thinking of many politically-conscious workers and Negroes today. It begins by demonstrating the importance of civil rights, not as a political football, but as a test for democracy:

"Until civil rights becomes a reality to minorities and, especially, Negroes, the democracy of the United States is a limited democracy."

"FREEDOM MUST BE WON"

Then it warns that the only way to get civil rights is by fighting for it:

". . . unless Negroes wage an unceasing and uncompromising fight for civil rights, they will never get them from the United States federal government.

"It is well nigh an historical maxim that freedom is never given by any government to any group or class, voluntarily.

"Freedom must be won from governments, even though they be labelled democratic."

Then comes an indictment of Sparkman that few labor and liberal papers would print today (although most of them would have before he was nominated at the Democratic convention):

CONDEMN SPARKMAN

"In the light of the foregoing principles, it would be a bad blunder and moral retreat, were Negroes to stand by with arms folded and let the nomination of John J. Sparkman, Senator from Alabama and consistent foe of civil rights, for Vice-President, go without protest, even though they be without the power to change it. . . .

"While Senator Sparkman may be classified as a Southern liberal, he is not considered a liberal so far as Negroes are concerned if he is not for civil rights. Nor should any aspirant for public office in the U.S.A. today be recognized a liberal unless he is unequivocally in favor of civil rights.

"It is a matter of common fact that any person in public life who is against civil rights is also against democracy. . . .

"Were Negroes to fail to challenge, expose and condemn the anti-civil rights record of Senator Sparkman, they would be traitors to themselves and democracy."

While not placing Stevenson in quite the same category as Sparkman (although Stevenson picked Sparkman as his running mate), the editorial continues:

"But, while Sparkman is definitely unacceptable to Negroes as Vice-President . . . we are far from considering Governor Stevenson as an ideal candidate for the Presidency.

"Either Governor Stevenson seeks to appease the South or he is ignorant of the facts of the action of Southern states on all issues of civil rights." (A little later the editorial seems to rule out the second possibility when it says: "We are sure Governor Stevenson is aware of these facts of political history.")

Hitting at Stevenson's declarations in favor of "state's rights" on civil rights and his refusal to condemn the filibuster, the editorial says:

"We consider Governor Stevenson's position on civil rights weak and indefensible. . . ."

Briefly, it rejects the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket as "definitely impossible," and then takes up the question of the party platforms, on which most of the labor and liberal press is placing so much stress.

PLATFORMS DECEIVE

"Party platforms have been consistently used for political propaganda to deceive the people," it warns. Dismissing the Republican platform as an attempt to woo the Dixiecrats, it turns to the Democratic platform:

"While the plank on civil rights

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DOBBS NATIONAL TOUR TO BEGIN IN CLEVELAND

Farrell Dobbs, Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, begins his national campaign tour with a speech at the Cleveland SWP headquarters, 10609 Superior Ave., on Thursday, Sept. 4, 8 P.M.

The next leg of his tour will be Akron where he will address a meeting at the Portage Hotel, Main and Market Sts., Saturday, Sept. 6, at 8:30 P.M.

In Youngstown, Dobbs will speak Sunday, Sept. 7, 8:30 P.M., at 234 E. Federal St.

The following week-end the SWP candidate will be in Buffalo, where his meeting will be held in the Orchard Room of Hotel Lafayette Saturday, Sept. 13, 8 P.M.

A conference of Ohio branches of the SWP, held in Cleveland on Aug. 23, called for a write-in vote for Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, SWP candidate for U.S. Vice President.

The conferenee vigorously protested the "virtual disfranchisement" of all voters opposed to the Democrats and Republicans because of state election law restrictions which bar minority parties and independent candidates from the ballot in Ohio.

The state SWP group voted to support legal action by the Socialist Labor Party and the American Civil Liberties Union to reverse the ruling of State Secretary Ted W. Brown against counting write-in votes. It also endorsed a suit by a Progressive Party member who is challeging the constitutionality of election law restrictions aimed at denying ballot rights to minority parties.

New provisions went into effect Jan. 1, 1952, which raise the number of nominating petition signatures required from 1% of the last preceding gubernatorial vote to 7%.

Myra T. Weiss Speaks in Seattle

Myra T. Weiss, SWP candidate for Vice President, starts her national campaign tour with a speech in Seattle, Sunday, Sept. 7, 8 P.M., at the Frye Hotel, Parlor A, Third Avenue S. and Yesler.

TOUR SCHEDULE

The first stage of Farrell Dobbs' national presidential campaign tour is:

Sept. 3-4	Cleveland
5-6	Akron
7	Youngstown
10	Pittsburgh
12-15	Buffalo

Myra Tanner Weiss will speak in the following areas during the first week of her coast-to-coast tour:

Sept. 6	Portland
7-9	Seattle
12-17	Chicago

Our Tasks in the American Labor Movement

Trade Union Report At SWP Convention

The following is a condensation of the trade union report delivered at the 15th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party, July 17-20, 1952, by Bert Cochran, Chairman of the Trade Union Committee:

* * *

Since the formation of our party in 1938, and even before, with the founding of the Workers Party in 1935, our aim in the trade unions was to help organize a left wing based on a radical program of transitional demands. We had in mind, to duplicate, in the changed circumstances of the period, the achievement of the early Communist Party, when under the leadership of Foster and others, the Trade Union Educational League was formed and played a considerable role in the labor movement of the early Nineteen Twenties.

The Trotskyist movement had already distinguished itself in 1934 with its leadership of the Minneapolis strike, and role in the Auto-Lite strike of Toledo. And in the intervening years we made innumerable attempts to organize left wing groupings and in winning people to our party in many unions throughout the country.

The fact is that outside of our continuing leadership of the Truckdrivers movement in the Northwest, the results were minor and our influence feeble.

The Stalinists emerged as a veritable power in the new CIO movement, and effectively blocked off any possibility of our small and unknown party gaining many adherents, or broad influence. We were, moreover, tardy—distinctly tardy — in throwing our effective strength into the factories and unions in the period of the great rise in 1936 and 1937. We paid a stiff penalty for that tardiness in the difficulty we encountered in trying to establish ourselves after the movement passed its peak of militancy and struggle. It was, as a matter of fact, only beginning with 1940 and the ensuing war years that we succeeded in consolidating a solid cadre in a number of key industries and unions, notably in Auto, Steel, and to some extent, Rubber and elsewhere.

Our Tactical Course

In the pre-war period, the CIO leadership was shared by the Stalinists on one hand, and the newly arisen and rapidly congealing American labor bureaucracy, on the other. They were in alliance against the ranks, and both bound by a common platform of Rooseveltianism and People's Frontism. Our effectives were too weak and scattered to make possible the formation of a going third power, or grouping; or for that matter, to even pursue a uniform, straight-line tactical course. Occasionally, we would bloc with the Stalinists for given ends. Occasionally, we would try to form, or at least we would advocate the formation of, a third group. But in the main, we tended to bloc with the so-called progressive bureaucracy against the Stalinist sector.

This policy was well motivated and well justified at the time. We might have, and probably did, at times, paint up the progressive bureaucrats, and endow them with virtues they did not possess. But taken in the main, this sector of the bureaucracy was more disposed to cooperate with us, at that period; was more respectful of the democratic rights of the membership, and more accessible to progressive slogans and ideas. The alliance afforded us more elbow room in the unions, strengthened our ability to recruit, and provided us with a greater audience for our ideas and program. And that is its sufficient justification.

The war period was one in which our work in the labor movement prospered exceedingly. Our tactical approach of caution notwithstanding, we were winning new members, we were gaining a broader sympathy for our agitation and slogans, we were dealing blows to the Stalinists, who were then in their jingo period; and we were making strong headway, especially in the Auto union, in regrouping the progressives in a third group, under the slogan of "Breaking the No-Strike Pledge."

It is now clear, in retrospect, that this period of progress and growth came to a halt shortly after the war. The trade union officials seized the leadership in the great strike wave of 1945-'46 and restored their moral authority with the membership. The country, after a brief phase of readjustment, went into, not a depression, but a period of unprecedented boom. Meanwhile, in firm alliance with imperialism, the bloated and sated American labor bureaucracy that emerged from the fat war years, consolidated its grip on the unions, wiped out the democracy of the halcyon days, set into motion the frenzied red-baiting inside the labor movement, which finally saw the whole country at the mercy of the witch hunt, the expulsion of the Stalinist-led unions, the shattering of Stalinst power inside the broad labor movement, and the enthronement of reaction on a national scale.

The New Situation

Our party leadership had quite a debate over the exact meaning of this new set of circumstances in the American labor scene, arising directly out of our attitude towards the Reuther machine, which in the summer of 1947 began fighting for monopolistic control of the Auto union. All of us finally had to recognize that a new situation had developed in the labor movement, that we were confronting a new, potent labor bureaucracy in the service of imperialism, that it was fastening itself upon the union ranks as a strangling force, and squeezing the old life, democracy, progressivism and free play out of the unions. Therefore, the old policy of blocking with so-called progressives against the Stalinist bureaucrats could no longer be operative; that a new opposition could only be built on the foundation of antagonism, of hostility to the newly emerged and consolidated Social Reformist, Social Imperialist — not Social Democratic cabal.

By the time of our National Committee gathering in February 1950, we felt the necessity of revising even further our trade union tactic and immediate perspective all up and down the line. The oppositions in the Auto, Rubber and Maritime unions had suffered shattering defeats, and were disintegrating. There was no immediate possibility for the formation of new sizable oppositions, and America generally, and the unions particularly, were haunted by the spirit of fear, the witch hunt and political reaction.

The tempo of development in the decade or better between our adoption of the Transitional Program and the present has proven far slower than we had anticipated and counted upon. The unprecedented boom and America's world supremacy had slowed the process of social demarcation and struggle. Full employment and the high standard of living slowed the development of class consciousness, set forces in motion which resulted in the triumphal rise of the labor bureaucracy, and the isolation of the radical parties.

These considerations dictated to us a tactical retreat in the unions, in the interests of self-preservation. We decided to pursue again a cautious tactical course, and to concentrate on propaganda tasks and propaganda aims in the broad labor movement. We are acting, and we must conduct ourselves in the unions today, primarily as political propagandists, and not as trade union leaders, or contenders for leadership. Our forces are scattered and reduced. Obviously, we cannot have a uniform tactical line in all situations, except to the extent that it must fall within the purview of this general approach. . . .

In Retrospect

It is interesting to consider whether in the light of the past ten-fifteen year development, we were prudent and wise in making such an effort — and such an energetic effort, at times — to help in the organization of a left wing in the unions, and to execute various maneuvers and form complicated blocs, in a movement where the programmatic basis was often unclear, and almost invariably not too satisfactory.

It is really impossible to understand, to comprehend our trade union work, except when taken in the context of our general party activity and perspective. We have to project ourselves back, for a moment, to 1938, when a new social crisis was brewing in the country, when millions were again unemployed, and when it was becoming clear to very many that six years of the New Deal's pump-priming had not solved the crisis of American capitalism. Radicalism was making headway; our party was revealing itself as a leader in the struggles against the incipient Fascist formations — and we had every right to expect continued growth and ever-widening influence in the course of rising social struggles.

When the war came, we knew that the class struggle would be slowed down, but we anticipated that after an interval, the groundswell would be more ample and on a more generous scale. But the new world power of this colossus, emerging as the victor of the war, with its power still unspent; and the ensuing unprecedented boom in the midst of world economic dislocation and crisis, disintegration and revolution, has upset our old timetable, to our disadvantage. The perspective remains valid,-but the time interval for its realization is considerably prolonged, and the paths towards its realization have become more devious and winding.

And because of the delay, the division of the world into two power blocs of antipathetic social character, and the preparations for a new war, we face a new reality, and we must understand it and reckon with it, and set our sights and draw our perspectives in accordance with it. Or else we will place ourselves in a decidedly unpleasant position. Because, as the Bible states: "Where there is no vision, the people perish. . . ." "In the day of prosperity be joyful, but in the day of adversity, consider."

We begin with the conviction that the big radicalization of the American working class will find its expression inside and out of this broad labor movement; and very possibly, very probably, in one variety or another of a labor party emanation. This nails down for us, as our Resolution emphasizes, the arch importance of the labor party slogan as a means of rallying masses towards a class division, through all the next succeeding phases of political development.

This strategical concept buttresses our belief that the party must nourish and tend with care, with anxiety, and with its best efforts and resources, those tender shoots that we possess in the labor movement. . . .

Groundwork for Great Deeds

In the present period our trade union forces are often augmented by mere mechanical effort. But to really maintain and integrate trade union groups in these difficult days, the mechanical aspect is the least of the problem. The party must believe in it. Young people, to sacrifice, to stay in plants year after year, braving the speedup and the isolation, have to be inspired with the conviction that their sacrifice is not in vain, that it is appreciated by the party, that what they are doing is important, that they are laying the groundwork for great deeds and achievements at a later stage.

Many things have changed, and many things are new, unexpected and different. But I cling firmly to the idea that the explosive developments of the future will come first of all in this country from the workers in the factories, and if we have an effective cadre there, that cadre will help shape events more tellingly than any other group or aggregation of people in possible any other field of activity or endeavor.

From the necessity of an effort to strengthen our forces in the labor movement, I proceed to the next proposition, in an attempt to sketch a perspective for the American labor scene.

The big radical wave will come, and it will be powered first of all from inside the organized working class movement. But between that dramatic event and the present, there lies an interval of time of more or less considerable duration; and we have to devise for that extended interval a proper activity for ourselves, to maintain our cadre, our freshness of outlook, and our appeal to the most advanced workers and young intellectuals, groping for an answer and a solution. This is a life-and-death question for us, because there is no automatic assurance of our success. There is nothing written in the stars which guarantees that this organization is the instrumentality of the social overturn of the future. That has to be established, and earned, and conquered.

Our tactic in the unions would be barren, and worst than barren, were it limited to the negative prescription not to engage in the clique factional battles that convulse local unions from time to time, or get out in front leading struggles that we cannot sustain, and in which we lack the backing of the membership. Our tactic, to mean something and be productive of benefit to the movement, **must enrich, make more profound and real our role as left wing propagandists in the broad labor movement.**

Propaganda Tasks

There is more to this question of propaganda than some may imagine. For a whole period to come, we have to work in a limited milieu, we have to direct our efforts and literature toward those people who are most interested in our ideas, and who will give us a hearing. We cannot just shout promiscuously at the general mass, for that would be like hurling seeds into a storm, hoping that by good fortune a few would find their way into productive soil.

Propagandizing in this period concrete individuals and groupings has great compensations. The results tend to be more satisfactory. Then, there is a pressure on you to get your propaganda more suitable, more concrete, more sharply attuned to the needs of a concrete audience. You answer not those questions that somebody thinks are bothering people; you answer those questions that are actually being put to you, and you answer them in a manner best calculated to elicit a response from your prospective friends, or interested acquaintances.

In some respects our press has retrogressed from the high point of past years in its attention, in a close study of the moods, the trends, the concrete developments of the labor movement. It would be good if we made a special effort to rectify this aspect of our work, **if we made an effort to fructify our tactical policy in the unions by a rich and comprehensive labor of analysis and propaganda.**

There is another consideration involved here. The specific situations of the recent past that enabled radicals to play big roles in the labor movement will never reappear again in quite the same way. The labor movement is superbly, tightly organized, huge in numbers, and terribly inoculated against radicals, left wingers, progressives. It is doubtful that there will ever again be a vacuum of leadership such as existed in the NRA period, and which we took advantage of to step into the leadership of the Minneapolis Drivers, or that the Stalinists utilized to assume the leadership of the West Coast longshoremen.

Neither is it probable that small groups of radicals will be able to play the role that they did in the upsurge of the CIO. The day is gone — probably forever — when you could skyrocket into positions of importance and influence, and dazzle a membership, because of superior speaking ability, or special knowledge how to organize going picket lines, or set up strike machinery, or how to issue leaflets or a local newspaper. Those abilities were of special moment in the rise of a virgin movement, and in the organization of a class hitherto unorganized, without experience, and without established leaders.

Marxism -- a Guide to Action

But now the American labor movement is a very well organized one; from a mechanical point of view, possibly the best organized labor movement in the world. It would be sheer adventurism to project a perspective of influencing this broad labor movement except on the basis of winning support of considerable numbers for our ideas. And that again underlines why the question of propaganda work is so decisive, and why our ideas must be kept fresh and alive, and our literature remain alert to the moods and trends in the working class, and to the developments in the social structure that we live in. Long ago Marx said, Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Marxism remains an abstraction — and a useless abstraction, at that — except as each generation translates it in line with the new developments, the new problems, the new needs. . . .

Charles Darwin in his epochal work, **The Origin of Species**, relates how the question of survival and duration of a species often hinges on the ability to introduce and accumulate the smallest modifications which enable it to conquer the peculiar environmental obstacles that arise. In contrast, the great museums exhibit many of the species now extinct that lacked the elasticity to adapt themselves to new circumstances, and therefore perished.

We are the proud possessors of a great heritage, and a great experience. Let us so use these that the future generations will say: "In the most trying days, they saw the problem clearly, they understood the tasks of their day, and met them, and they later emerged strong and triumphant, because they deserved to be strong and to triumph."

Strikers Close Goodrich

CIO United Rubber Workers pickets block entrance to B.F. Goodrich general offices in Akron after union headquarters instituted a "let no one pass" policy. Thirty thousand Goodrich workers responded to strike call in fight for wage and condition improvements in new contract.

STRIKERS AT GOODRICH DEFEND UNION SECURITY

AKRON, Aug. 22 — After nine weeks of futile negotiations for a contract, CIO Rubber Workers Local No. 5, Akron, and six other Goodrich locals throughout the nation struck last Sunday at midnight in defense of elementary union security.

Carrying the ball for the Big Four rubber monopolists, the Goodrich corporation had demanded that a new clause be inserted in the contract making the union liable for wildcat strikes. Echoing the sentiment of all the men and women in the plants, Kenneth Oldman, President of Local 5, stated at the last local meeting: "We can't live with this proposed clause."

WANT FREE HAND

For many years the rubber corporations of Akron have sought to "outlaw" wildcat strikes and the threat of such strikes. This would allow them a free hand to lord it over the workers with surprise speed-up demands. Recently L. S. Buckmaster, International President of the Rubber Workers, made a well-publicized statement denouncing wildcat strikes. This was the cue that the rubber corporations were waiting for.

One month ago a wildcat strike broke out at the Anderson Rubber Corp. in protest against the lowering of piece-work rates. Immediately, Mr. Anderson Jr. "fired" half his employees (80). This was something new for Akron, for suspension had been the severest punishment handed out to "wildcatters" in recent years.

FORCE REINSTATEMENT

Buckmaster wouldn't touch the Anderson case and only the intervention of Goodrich Local officials, Acting President Lesieur and Secretary Lowe, forced the reinstatement of the men. At a conference in the Mayor's office, Mr. Anderson was prevailed upon "out of the goodness of his heart" to rehire the 80 men. However, Anderson indicated that he wouldn't be so magnanimous "next time."

Knowing full well that Local 5, and for that matter even Buckmaster, would never agree to the proposed wildcat clause, Goodrich corporation probably hopes to effect a "compromise" whereby they have the right to fire wildcatters. A rejection also of this vicious concept is implicit in the strike bulletins of Local 5, which lays the onus of "illegal work stoppages" on "company provocations."

Other issues are at stake in the strike such as existing seniority and vacation provisions. In addition to an "improved" contract, the union is seeking 10-cents an hour increase such as was recently granted rubber workers at Goodyear.

$18,500 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Pledge	Paid	Percent
Connecticut	$ 125	$ 137	110
Allentown	40	43	108
Cleveland	300	264	88
Philadelphia	350	298	85
Akron	150	120	80
St. Louis	50	40	80
Boston	500	397	79
Chicago	1,500	1,189	79
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,500	1,144	76
New York	4,500	3,323	74
Buffalo	1,500	1,081	72
San Francisco	900	526	58
Detroit	2,113	1,194	57
Seattle	400	216	54
Newark	1,000	528	53
Milwaukee	325	130	40
Flint	300	118	39
Pittsburgh	40	15	38
Youngstown	400	150	38
Los Angeles	2,200	800	36
Oakland	300	92	31
General	150	293	196
Total through Aug. 25	$18,600	$12,098	65

GOOD WEEK RAISES SWP ELECTION FUND TO 65%

(Continued from page 1)

writes **Kay Kean**, "to collect a few dollars from friends and go over our pledge slightly."

Boston chalked up an 8-point gain with $41; **Chicago** a 9-point gain with $139, **New York** 12 points with $534; **Minneapolis-St. Paul** 7 points with $108.

Even though the closing date of the campaign has been moved up to Sept. 30, some of the branches hope to complete their pledges by the end of Aug. **Richard Boerner**, for instance, sent this note with $152 for **San Francisco**: "We have very high hopes of fulfilling our pledge by the end of the current month."

Frank Powers writes for **Seattle**: "Enclosed is another $40. This puts us over the halfway mark and the rest of the money will be coming in by Aug. 28. So we're sure to meet it in full."

Other branches, slow in getting started because of strike unemployment, now feel certain of making their pledge in full by the new Sept. 30 deadline. **G. Holly** mailed in $50 for **Milwaukee**, stating: "We intend to complete our pledge by the new end-of-September deadline."

The **Youngstown** comrades sent this assurance with $50: "With the extension we should now be able to meet our quota IN FULL AND ON TIME."

Los Angeles made a 13% gain with $300 and **Oakland** sent $10 with this promise: "There will be a large sum from us next week."

Our appreciation goes to W.C.C. of **Stratford, Canada**, who contributed $5 to help in "the election campaign."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Minneapolis Literature Agent **Helen Sherman** writes to congratulate the Militant staff on recent issues of the paper and to report a very good sale of the Aug. 11 issue. "Everyone is eager to buy **The Militant** these days!" she writes. "The front page is so attractive and so lively with current 'election news' that the paper sells itself like never before. Our comrades here made a special request that the Militant staff be commended for the fine appearance and contents of the paper.

"**Harry, Pauline, Donald, Dave, Helen, Larry,** and **Ralph** sold 68 copies of the August 11 **Militant** and 20 copies of the Harry T. Moore pamphlet in the Negro neighborhood last week. We found the Negro people well informed on politics. At least they know the Democrat and Republican parties are no good and they expressed a great deal of interest in **The Militant** and in the Socialist Workers Party. Now is really the time to get out with our literature."

New York Literature Agent **Ethel Swanson** also reports a good response to the Aug. 11 **Militant**. "We had a good sale of the **Militant** containing Dobbs' Open Letter to Congressman Powell on 125th Street in Harlem Saturday afternoon. For some reason the street was not as crowded as it usually is, but our small crew (New York has been busy with work involved in getting our party on the ballot), **Lenny, Earl, Johnny,** and I sold 36 papers and two copies of the Moore pamphlet in an hour. Just about everyone we talked to said they'd like to see Congressman Powell speak out for a new party.

"In our week-to-week work special credit goes to Comrade **Joyce** of the Downtown branch, one of our most consistent and enthusiastic **Militant** salesmen. She has her own **Militant** route in an Eastside housing project which she began before our sub campaign and has been continuing since. She sells from six to 18 single copies a week plus a couple of trial subscriptions. As a result of her weekly visits Joyce has been able to add some regular subscribers to our list. I think this is a wonderful way to spread our ideas and help build the party!"

Detroit is continuing the renewal campaign begun several weeks ago with a first return of 21 subs. Literature Agent **Janet McGregor** writes, "All of our names have been given out now, and most of the workers who were laid off are getting calls back to work. So within a few weeks we should see some results."

Three letters recently from **Kay Kean** report the good results of a week's activity selling **The Militant** in **Akron**. In the first she writes, "Enclosed is a subscription obtained from a person who wrote in after one of our recent TV broadcasts. **Sally** and I spent last evening introducing the SWP program to this rubber worker and listening to his first-hand tales of Jim Crow terror in Georgia." The next day: "I obtained the enclosed renewal today during my sale of 15 copies of the **Militant** with the Powell headline. This subscriber is an old time unionist from the mines whose sub I originally obtained during the summer campaign of 1951, and who has renewed since. He plans to come to our public meeting with Farrell Dobbs speaking." And a few days later: "In preparation for the Dobbs public meeting I carried out another sale of 12 **Militants** and met a young couple who are definitely interested in attending the meeting. Their views on Korea as a useless war coincided with that of our candidate. I'm including **Militant** sales as part of the preparatory publicity for our meeting. New interested readers of the paper will be glad to follow up their first reading by attending a talk by our presidential and vice-presidential candidates."

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George Breitman
(Candidate for Senator)

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Two More Salesmen

The American Legion convention in New York's Madison Square Garden offered an instructive example of how a witch hunt works.

The reactionary officials that manipulate the Legion leveled their guns with deliberate, malicious intent upon the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU is, of course, nothing but a liberal organization composed of and supported by devoted and non-partisan defenders of civil liberties. In its thirty-two years' history, it has never taken a stand for or against the politics of any particular grouping.

The ACLU defends the civil liberties of Communist and Socialist Workers Party members, conscientious objectors, and even of fascists, with a thorough and scrupulous impartiality. It has only one motto: **freedom of expression for all**, and we socialists are for that slogan as far as it goes. We respect the ACLU for remaining true to the too-often desecrated central idea of liberalism.

However the ACLU cannot, by even the wildest stretch of the imagination, be called a "Communist" or "Communist-front" organization. Here the Legion Convention trained its guns nevertheless, in a resolution which called on the government to "investigate (and expose) the questionable record of subversive activities" of the ACLU and for the indictment of the organization under the Smith and McCarran Acts if the findings "warrant."

It must not be imagined that this resolution is the product entirely of ignorant minds who are unaware of what the ACLU is. The men who inspired it were undoubtedly in possession of full knowledge about the ACLU, and know the ridiculousness of their charge. The resolution has a purpose in line with the inherent logic of the witch hunt. The Legion leaders deliberately singled out the ACLU for smear and persecution because their object is to make it "subversive" to defend free speech for radicals.

In its present stage, the terror strikes primarily against leftists: Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party and other radicals. The next stage of the witch hunt will be an attack against liberals and against all who defend civil liberties. The reasoning behind this is simple. The witch hunters will say and are already saying: It is "subversive" to advocate social change; therefore it is also subversive to defend the free speech of people who advocate social change. It is this next stage in the witch hunt that the Legion is now driving for.

The Militant has warned repeatedly that the present objects of the witch hunt are only targets for today. The real targets are the labor movement, the Negro organizations, the liberals, and in the last analysis the whole American people.

This latest instance of how the witch hunt, once it has begun, spreads implacably in ever widening circles, should arouse all those who are not already concerned and active in the fight for preservation of freedom of expression for all political viewpoints.

A Deliberate Slander

Two more top union officials joined the Stevenson-Sparkman sales forces last week. W. P. Kennedy, President of the largest of the Railroad Brotherhoods (Trainmen) and Walter Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) are the latest additions to the Democratic Party cheerleaders.

Of course, it doesn't disturb their consciences in the least that Stevenson and Sparkman are the candidates of a capitalist party committed to imperialist world war. But it is plain that both Kennedy and Reuther are bothered by the conservative record of Stevenson and the downright reactionary record of Sparkman.

Stevenson opposes Federal Fair Employment legislation because he favors state action, he says, but his state has not taken any action for civil rights to speak of. On the contrary, Illinois, scene of the Cicero anti-Negro terror, is a breeding ground for some of the worst lynch-type gangs of the nation. Nor does Stevenson want repeal of the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law. Sparkman, a poll tax Senator, is in no better case. He has actually been a leader of the anti-democratic filibusters of the Southern Senators and is certainly not the man that the labor movement wants as Vice-President and presiding officer of the Senate.

How do Kennedy and Reuther get around these obstacles? Each has his own way. Kennedy refrains from mentioning political issues, but talks instead about the "outstanding character, integrity and ability" of the Democratic candidates. "I know them both to be splendid and outstanding men," he adds, apparently under the impression that if he repeats the word "outstanding" often enough, all other faults will be atoned for.

Reuther's scheme is different: more daring and imaginative, you might say. Stevenson and Sparkman are conservative and even reactionary. That doesn't stop Reuther, whose slogan is: Turn a neecessity into a virtue. He said Stevenson is "independent"; "perhaps the most independent candidate" ever to run for President. "The thing that makes Governor Stevenson's candidacy attractive is that he is not a candidate of labor, not a candidate of industry, and not a candidate of the political bosses."

This sophistry may be translated as follows: "I (Reuther) can't recommend any part of Stevenson's labor views, I can't commend his civil rights stand, his views are in general conservative and nothing for me to brag about. Therefore, as a last resort, I praise his independence. He may not be much good, but at least he is original."

There is another way to interpret Reuther's remarks and this is perhaps more accurate: "I was ready to support the Democratic nominees, no matter who they might be, long before the election. Therefore, don't take anything I say too seriously. I am not giving you reasons, only excuses."

Korea in Flames -- The Napalm Atrocities

A Documented Answer to Secretary Lovett on Fire-Bombing of Civilians

By Art Preis

"Fire — not explosives or bullets — is the most horrible and devastating weapon in Korea," said The Militant of Feb. 19, 1951, in describing the massacre of Korean civilians by the U.S. air forces. This type of warfare, we wrote, has "added a new word to the common speech — "napalm" — flaming jellied gasoline. "The U.S. command's favorite method of warfare is burning people alive," we charged.

I cite what we wrote more than a year and a half ago about napalm bombings, because the Pentagon and U.S. Air Force officials are trying to represent the recent official complaints of the Chinese and North Korean governments about U.S. napalming of civilian centers as nothing but a "new concerted Communist propaganda line." (N. Y. Times, Aug. 19.)

Gen. Nathan F. Twining, acting Chief of Staff of the U.S. Air Force, claims the U.S. Air Forces in Korea "have never employed napalm against civilians." Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett goes further to cynically describe napalm as a "weapon like a bullet, a bomb or a shell." He opined that fire had been used in warfare since "Biblical days" and termed the Chinese and North Korean complaints "obviously unjustified" and a "tiresome form of propaganda."

This "tiresome form of propaganda" is not a product of the Kremlin or the **Daily Worker**. If anything, the Stalinists have been rather slow in bringing attention to this obvious and provable atrocity by U.S. imperialism. Revulsion to the use of napalm in Korea, for instance, was expressed months ago in England by leading Church officials and by both conservative and laborite members of Parliament.

The conservative Archbishop of York, Dr. Cyril Garbett, on April 27 denounced the use of the napalm bomb in Korea as "a weapon which inflicts terrible and indiscriminate loss and suffering. It burns up all life and buildings over a wide area, and there is little possibility of escape for man or animals."

MORE "TIRESOME PROPAGANDA"

Questions criticizing the use of napalm in Korea were raised three times in the House of Commons during last May. A former Labor minister, Richard Stokes, demanded that the government take steps to halt the dropping of napalm bombs in "areas which are predominantly civilian." Emrys Hughes, another Laborite, denounced a napalm raid on a two square mile area on March 8. Viscount Hinchingbrooke, a Conservative, advised the government to reconsider the use of weapons like napalm "whose propaganda counterblast greatly exceeds their initial military effects."

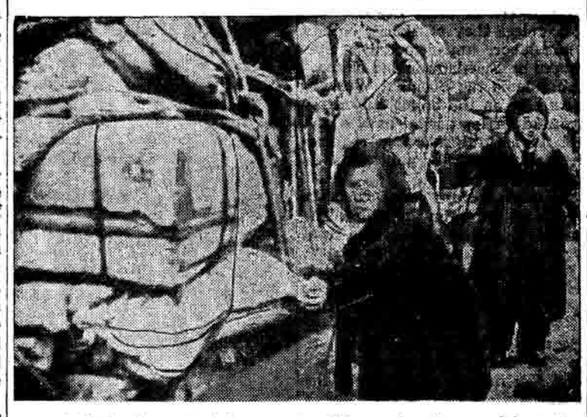
I have before me a piece of that "tiresome propaganda" put out by the Korean Affairs Institute, in Washington, D. C., a firm supporter of the U.S.-UN intervention in Korea. In its official organ, **The Voice of Korea**, for Feb. 21, 1951, the Institute writes:

"Although the United Nations entered the war last June with the high purpose of making the country 'safe from aggression,' the patient is now dying from the savage blows of modern warfare. The conflagration is exterminating the Korean nation. Cities have been destroyed beyond repair. Straw-thatched villages are wiped out. . . . Already 1,000,000 civilian deaths have been reported. If this cruel war continues, the United Nations might win a victory over a lifeless land of ashes."

On June 25, 1951, Yongjeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute, wrote: "But where are the voices that heed the cry of a Korean mother who has seen her child incinerated by a bomb? . . . One year of war's hideous see-saw has destroyed more than 70 percent of the homes and factories of an entire nation. It has taken the lives of more than 10 percent of the people and blighted to varying degrees the lives of 30,000,000 Koreans."

How did three million helpless civilians come to die under strafing and bombing, including napalming, if U.S. bombing was directed only at military targets?

A "Military" Target



A little Korean girl, one of millions of refugees driven to wander hungry and helpless on the roadsides by U.S. terror bombings, assists in pushing a heavily-laden cart. More than three million Korean civilians have died in the war, many as a result of bombings against so-called "military targets."

SOME "MILITARY" TARGETS

Let us look at some of these "military" targets.

"Some of the most tragic victims of this war — Korean children wounded by American bombs — are being treated aboard the famous Danish hospital ship Jutlandia in Pusan Harbor," reported Geraldine Fitch, NEA Special Writer, from Korea, on Feb. 2, 1952.

"Most pitiful of all, though, are the fire (napalm) bomb victims. One of them is Young-Nam Ham. He had no treatment at all for a long time after the fire bombs struck his village. . . . When he came to the Jutlandia his eyes were held constantly open by drawn scar tissue above and below the lids. Scar tissue under his chin draws his lower lip down. His hands are scarred stumps with protrusions (what remains of his fingers). All the other members of Yong-Nam Ham's family died in the bombing. . . .

"Finally, there is the terrible irony that these children — and there are thousands of them besides those treated on the Jutlandia — were injured by the bombs of their protectors, the Americans."

What "their protectors, the Americans" did to another group of Korean civilians was described in one dispatch from Korea on Feb. 8, 1951, by David McConnell:

"Alongside the fighting were two scenes pointing up the ridiculous and horrible in battle. During the hardest going, with enemy and UN bullets dropping over the area, a small tot wandered back and forth on the road. . . . No harm came to him. . . . **On the other side of the road was a field cluttered with the bodies of refugees who apparently had been caught in a napalm fire bombing. . . .**"

The following description by George Barrett, appeared in the Feb. 8, 1951, **N. Y. Times:**

"This armored column today took a litle hamlet north of Anyang that will go down as a macabre tribute to the totality of modern war. A napalm raid hit the village three or four days ago when the Chinese were holding up the advance and nowhere in the village have they buried the dead because there is nobody left to do so.

"This correspondent came across one old woman, the only one alive, dazedly, hanging up some clothes in a blackened courtyard filled with the bodies of four members of her family.

"The inhabitants throughout the village and in the fields were caught and killed and kept the exact postures they had held when the napalm struck — a man about to get on his bicycle, fifty boys and girls playing in an orphanage, a housewife strangely unmarked, holding in her hand a page torn from a Sears-Roebuck catalogue crayoned at mail order number 3,811,294, for a $2.98 'bewitching bed jacket — coral.' There must be almost 200 dead in the tiny hamlet."

Homer Bigart, Pulitzer Prize-winnning reporter of the **N. Y. Herald-Tribune**, in his description of Gen. MacArthur's retreat from North Korea for **Look** magazine, Jan. 30, 1951, also tells how the U.S. Air Force used napalm on "military" targets:

"Finally, in blind desperation, we tried to burn with napalm every town and village . . . along the mockingly empty roads coming down from Manchuria."

Were these towns and villages always empty? "The North Koreans must stay in concealment in the hills because of the UN air power, . . . Nor do they dare seek shelter in peasant huts or villages. These are constantly under air attack in areas near where Red troops are known to be. **The attacks have resulted in many civilian casualties. But air force leaders contend these civilians are Red sympathizers."**

Any civilians who get in the way of our napalm or bomb must just naturally be Reds — including the toddlers and infants.

"NEXT TO THE ATOM BOMB"

Secretary of Defense Lovett's attempt to minimize the awfulness of napalm as a weapon, does not jibe with reports of other qualified observers. The N. Y. **World-Telegram** of Feb. 15, 1951 reported a statement by Hugh Baillie, president of the United Press, who had visited Korea:

"The American Air Force, Mr. Baillie said, has been able to compensate for the enemy's superior number by the use of napalm, 'which can burn Chinese troops by the acre and asphyxiate many who are outside the range of the flames.' **As a killer, Mr. Baillie said, napalm should be rated next to the atom bomb."**

Likewise, the editor of **U.S. News and World Report**, David Lawrence, wrote:

"Napalm bombs dropped by our Air Forces are literally burning enemy soldiers alive. Thousands of civilians in the fighting areas are being caught in the trap as war goes on all around them. **Weapons of death as bad as, if not worse than, a blast from an atomic bomb are taking an awful toll of human lives."**

Charles Corddry, United Press Aviation Writer, after four months of flying missions in Korea, wrote on Feb. 10, 1951, that napalm "is a horrible weapon. There is practically no escaping a napalm attack. What it does to its victim defies description. . . . There are no duds among napalm bombs. When a tank (container) hits, fire starts. The temperature is 1500 to 2000 degrees. In seconds, the flame burns everything within its reach and, because, it consumes all oxygen in the immediate area, suffocates as well as burns its victims.

"Napalm, being jellied, clings to whatever it hits or splashes upon. Its victims usually are killed in the positions they were in when hit. Sometimes they are suffocated without being burned."

And sometimes, they are burned without being suffocated or killed. This is the ghastliest fate of all.

"YIPING ABOUT USE OF FIRE"

I quote from the **Manchester Guardian** of March 1, 1952, a description of a napalm victim from the book, **Korea Reporter**, by Rene Cutforth, correspondent of the British Broadcasting Company (BBC):

"In front of us a curious figure was standing, a little crouched, legs straddled, arms held out from his sides. He had no eyes, and the whole of his body, nearly all of which was visible through tatters of burnt rags, was covered with a hard black crust speckled with yellow pus. A Korean woman by his side began to speak, and the interpreter said: 'He has to stand, sir, he cannot sit or lie.' He had to stand because he was no longer covered with a skin, but a crustlike crackling which broke easily. . . . I thought of the hundreds of villages reduced to ashes which I personally had seen and realized the sort of casualty list which must be mounting along the Korean front."

When I read the cold-blooded comment of Secretary of Defense Lovett on "the yiping about the use of fire" in Korea, I get a feeling that Nero has been much abused. He is said to have sung, while half of Rome burned; but he was called insane. What shall we say of men like Lovett, who are absolutely sane, yet burn up a land and its people and call it "liberation"? I think they have read themselves out of the human race.

The 1952 "Lesser Evil" Theory

By George Breitman
New Jersey Candidate for U.S. Senator

The Black Worker, published by the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, has earned the right to be listened to. As the article on page one reports, The Black Worker has told some plain truths about the two capitalist parties, their candidates and platforms. Unlike 99% of the labor and liberal press, it doesn't rig voting records in order to produce a "good" one for the Democrats. It doesn't pretend that Stevenson is a fighter for civil rights. It doesn't twist logic, facts and words to paint Sparkman as a "liberal" of any kind. And it frankly admits that Negroes and workers face a dilemma in this election — something that most labor and liberal papers try to deny.

But while it is more honest, **The Black Worker's** advice on what to do in the 1952 election turns out not much different or better than the rest of the labor press.

"TWO POLITICAL EVILS"

". . . study the records of the candidates and platforms of the two parties and vote for the lesser of two political evils," it says. "This is the only possible strategy minorities, and, especially, Negroes and labor can take until labor builds and maintains a party which reflects the interests of the workers, farmers, professionals, liberals and small shopkeepers."

This is an application of the famous "lesser evil" theory. It is important to understand it and see through it because, at bottom, it is shared by the rest of the AFL, the CIO and the ADA. The only difference is that the others don't admit it, but pretend that the Democrats, far from being an evil, are a positive good, real champions of labor and civil rights, etc. When you corner them, and hit them with the facts that **The Black Worker** prints, then they will admit reluctantly that the Democrats aren't all they should be, but still and all they are "better" than the Republicans, or "not as bad," and therefore should be supported.

In our daily lives we are continually making a choice among evils — rejecting the greater and accepting the lesser — whenever we are not in position to reject all evils. For example, let us suppose I am looking for a job, and I know I need one paying $60 a week in order to take care of myself and my family. But the only ones I can find pay $50 a week and $55 a week. Under the circumstances, the $55 a week job is the lesser evil, and I take it, knowing that I will have to cut my living standards, but that I can survive by skimping and scraping.

But suppose the only jobs to be found pay $30 and $35 a week. A $35 job is not as bad as a $30 job but I wouldn't be able to get by on $35 a week, no matter how economical I tried to be. So I think I would refuse both jobs, preferring to take a chance on getting unemployment insurance, or even going on relief, in the hope of holding out that way until the job situation changed.

In other words, you don't solve anything by telling yourself that you will choose a lesser evil. It not only must be actually lesser, but it also has to be enough "lesser" to make a real difference. If both evils are intolerable, or if the difference between them is trifling, then there is no advantage in choosing between them, and you might as well reject both.

That's how it is with the present political situation. There are differences between the two major parties, but not enough to justify supporting either of them.

Both parties support the preparations for World War III, both parties bear responsibility for the Korean war. Both share the blame for high profits and high prices. Both helped to pass the Taft-Hartley Act and the McCarran concentration camp law, and neither Stevenson nor Eisenhower proposes to repeal them. Both are guilty of promoting the witch hunt and the growing suppression of free speech, press and assembly. Whichever party is elected, we will still have war preparations, inflation, anti-labor legislation and attempts to institute though-control.

The essential similarity between the two capitalist parties becomes even more striking when we compare their records and probable actions on civil rights which, we agree with **The Black Worker**, is a decisive test for every party and every candidate.

No civil rights laws were passed in 1947 and 1948, when the Republicans controlled Congress, and no civil rights laws were passed in 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1952, when the Democrats controlled Washington. What reason has anybody to think that either party will pass civil rights laws next year, especially since both of them are appeasing the Dixiecrats in this year's election campaign?

Elect the Democrats, and you will have a President who stands for "states' rights" on FEPC and is opposed to abolishing the filibuster, a Vice President who has publicly sworn to use every parliamentary device to block the passage of civil rights laws, and a Congress that will again be controlled by Southern committee chairmen. What's "lesser" about such an evil?

TWO FALLACIES

There are two basic fallacies in the position of **The Black Worker** (and of the labor and liberal movements as a whole): 1. They won't admit the truth that both capitalist party evils are approximately equal, so far as workers and minority groups are concerned. 2. They try to make it appear that "the only possible strategy" is a choice between the two capitalist parties.

But there is no law forcing workers and Negroes to vote Democratic or Republican. They don't have to wrack their brains trying to figure out which capitalist party is one per cent rottener than the other. There's nothing to stop them from voting against both capitalist party evils. No one will be standing there in the polling booth to prevent them from voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE

"If you do that, you will be wasting your vote," cry the labor, Negro and liberal leaders. "You will be wasting your vote because there is little or no possibility of the Socialist Workers Party candidates being elected."

Which is better — to give your vote to a party that fights FOR labor and civil rights, even though it may not be elected, or to give it to a party that fights AGAINST labor and civil rights, merely because it may be elected?

Which is wasted — a vote you cast for a party that expresses your protest against war and high prices and Jim Crow and witch hunts, or a vote you cast for a party that is going to keep on trying to cut your throat?

"PRACTICAL" POLITICS

Even in terms of "practical" politics, the "don't waste your vote" policy of the union and liberal leaders is all wet. In 1948 the labor and Negro movements voted for the Democrats, while the Dixiecrats walked out and voted for a ticket that had no chance of being elected.

Result: In 1952 the Democrats wooed the Dixiecrats and gave them all kinds of concessions, while they gave a kick in the teeth to the labor and Negro movements because they felt they had them in the bag anyhow and didn't have to offer them any concessions.

If the history of the Dixiecrats proves anything, it is this: The way to get concessions from the capitalist parties is by voting against them.

PROTEST BOTH EVILS

Vote for the Democrats again — and you'll get another kick in the teeth.

Help to rally a strong vote for the Socialist Workers Party — and you will be voicing your protest against both of the "two political evils" and helping to mobilize the forces for the creation of a Labor Party that will act in your interests.

Don't waste your vote by giving it to your proven enemies. Use it to show that you want a world free of exploitation and oppression. Use it for yourself, and your future, and the future of your children.

HOW TO GET RESULTS

After listing the civil rights program that Negroes, "with their liberal and labor allies," should fight for, the editorial discusses how to get this program passed:

"The achievement of the foregoing civil rights measures will never be secured by appealing to the so-called sense of justice of politicians in either the Democratic or Republican party.

"Only two forms of action will get results:

"One: Mass action and pressure which will enlist and mobilize the masses of the Negroes in demonstrations.

"Two: The registration and voting of Negroes to their maximum strength, North, South, East and West."

A WEAK CONCLUSION

But HOW they should vote, **The Black Worker** does not say. Instead, its editorial finishes by saying:

"It is obvious from the foregoing analysis that under our two party system, Negroes face a dilemma in the coming election. Thus their responsibility is to study the records of the candidates and platforms of the two parties and vote for the lesser of two political evils. This is the only possible strategy minorities, and, especially, Negroes and labor can take until labor builds and maintains a party which reflects the interest of the workers, farmers, professionals, liberals and small shopkeepers."

(See George Breitman's analysis of the Black Worker's editorial on this page.)

PULLMAN PORTERS UNION HITS BOTH CAPITALIST PARTIES

(Continued from Page 1)

is more extensive and, perhaps, relatively better on FEPC and the filibuster (than the Republican plank), no one would be able to find it out by reading it, except someone familiar with the fine points of the struggle for civil rights.

"In an obvious attempt to lean over backwards to appease the Dixiecrats, the platform does not mention FEPC by name or the filibuster, but, with a bit of inexcusable semantics, winds up adroitly to conceal the whole issue of civil rights in mere verbiage. . . .

"As an evidence of the fact that the Dixiecrats captured the Democratic Convention, the platform conveniently by-passed such important questions as a jim-crow army, and a jim-crow nation's capital, Washington, D. C. . . ."

Conclusion: "Both parties are as entirely devoid of principles and ideals as a chicken is of teeth."

East Europe Trends Analyzed in New FI

The July-August issue of Fourth International, now on sale, features a detailed analysis of recent economic developments in Eastern Europe by Ernest Germain. Also included are an article on the new Brookings Institution study of share ownership in the United States by Harry Frankel, and the conclusion of G. Lora's discussion of the Bolivian class struggles leading to the recent revolution. Copies of the magazine at 25c. each may be ordered from Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI — MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1952 — NUMBER 35

The Negro Struggle

Lesson from So. Africa

By Jean Blake

Some times we have to view a thing from a distance to get the proper perspective on it. Perhaps that is why many people in the United States who read of the current struggle against segregation in South Africa are sympathetic to the democratic demands of the colored movement there, but fail to support similar struggles right here at home.

It's easy to be an arm-chair hero, to read about the thousands going to jail in the mass defiance of racial segregation laws in Johannesburg, Orlando, Cape Town and other cities, and to admire their heroism. But to walk into a Westside restaurant in Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A. — "the best location in the nation" — in mixed company is another matter.

One of the most blatant expressions of the fact that the white supremacists have the political power in South Africa is the restrictions on voting. Colored voters, when they are allowed to vote at all, are limited to voting for white candidates for the legislature.

Here at home we also have undemocratic voting restrictions, but many "liberal" Democrats and Republicans — "labor" and Negro supporters of Eisenhower and Stevenson who can be very smug about our superior democracy — can't or won't see the deadly parallel.

Workers are free to vote, but with restrictions. The Trucks Act in Michigan and the recently enacted election restrictions in Illinois and Ohio are only extreme examples of the widespread discriminatory election laws of states throughout the country which virtually bar workers' parties from the ballot.

In the South, Negro workers have the additional barrier of naked force to face. Just this month the **Louisiana Weekly** (August 9) reported the following incident in Greensburg, La.:

"Fear gripped this small farming town last week as an unidentified pistol-packing white man waving a blue-steel revolver terrorized some 12 Negroes from the second Ward polling booth" where they had presented themselves to register.

"Eye-witnesses to the incident told the **Louisiana Weekly** the white man warned the Negroes:

"'Get out all of you n——s before all of you get killed. Nobody is going to let you vote. If you don't run, there'll be plenty more to shoot you down.'"

The would-be voters were prevented from casting ballots in the Democratic primary election of a federal judge and a member of the school board. Earlier, in January, they had been prevented from voting in the gubernatorial election. "No action was initiated," the paper reported, "despite reports to the then Gov. Earl K. Long."

While such incidents are not common in the North, at least not in industrial centers, both Negro and white workers in most centers will not be able to vote unless they cast their ballots for anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-democratic Stevenson and Sparkman or Eisenhower and Nixon.

In Michigan and Illinois the Socialist Workers Party candidates will be on the ballot only after fighting expensive and difficult legal battles and after having met signature-gathering requirements for petitions the capitalist politicians do not have to meet.

In Ohio it is impossible for any but Democrats or Republican candidates to get on the ballot. The SWP would have had to gather 15% of the total vote for governor in the last election, or almost half a million signatures of qualified voters. But the law specifically excludes the Democratic and Republican parties from having to meet this requirement.

Workers can do one of two things. They can quietly submit to this dictatorship by the class that rules them both on the job and through the government; or, without even having to match the courage and heroism of the South African workers, they can fight for their political freedom.

American workers can refuse to vote for candidates imposed on them by their bosses. All they have to do is summon up the nerve to enter the voting booth, draw the curtain, and mark an "X" next to the names of Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice President, or, where they do not appear on the ballot, write in their names as candidates and mark an "X" in front of them.

This is one way of protesting the restrictions on our democratic rights which, if they continue to increase, can make America look like South Africa.

Grunt and Groan Act

By Harry Frankel

A recent **Wall Street Journal** cartoon showed a wife saying to her husband: "Okay, I'll compromise, you switch over to my candidate and I'll switch over to yours." True words, though spoken in jest! This remark catches the spirit of the 1952 major-party campaign better than reams of ponderous editorial analysis that have appeared in the press. Any voter who is supporting either of the two major candidates could just as well switch and never know the difference.

As the campaign opens, Stevenson and Eisenhower are circling each other like a couple of grunt-and-groan artists trying to look vicious. To date, despite many strenuous efforts, they haven't found a thing to fight about. As a matter of fact, each of the candidates has had more battles with people in his own party than with the opposing party. Stevenson has been getting crossways with Truman, and Eisenhower has been incurring the wrath of the Taft-MacArthur wing of the Republican Party. Both candidates have been catching a bawling-out from advisers who tell them to "get in there and fight," but the sideline critics haven't explained how Eisenhower and Stevenson are going to fight when they haven't got a thing to fight about.

Political commentators are even going so far as to shout that the two-party system is in danger. Republicans particularly play upon this theme, calling upon voters to back Eisenhower in order to "preserve the two-party system." How have the mighty fallen! The once great party of Lincoln, born in revolution against slavocracy, can think of no argument to win votes other than "the country needs a second party, even if that party is no different from the first."

The Democrats not only admit that the Republican Party is the same; they charge it! They accuse their opponents of "me-tooism." That's the kind of powder-puffs the big guns are loaded with this year; nobody is excited and very few are even interested.

It is predicted that fewer than 50% of the eligible voters will go to the polls this November. In the 1948 elections, only 51% voted, and in the 1950 Congressional elections the vote was even lower. On Aug. 7, Truman compared these figures with the percentage of eligible voters in other countries voting in the most recent general elections. He said that in France, 75% of those eligible voted, in Italy 89%, Canada 75%, Japan 71%, Israel 72%, Sweden 80%, England 83%, and in Belgium 90%.

To explain why the U.S. vote is so small, Truman charged "laziness and indifference" against the American people. The "laziness" part of this with all due respect to a President of the U.S. who gets up at six o'clock every morning to take a walk, must be disregarded. But Truman is right about the "indifference" of the people to the elections. He fails, however, to explain why the people of this country are so indifferent, while just across the border in Canada the situation is otherwise; why half the people of this country fail to vote while in Belgium only 10% stay away from the polls. He also fails to explain why the people of this country have become indifferent. Fifty or 75 years ago far larger percentages of the electorate voted: in 1880 78.4% and in 1900 73%.

The answer is to be found in a so-called two-party system which has become nothing but a one-party regime that puts up two slates of candidates. In almost every other capitalist nation of the globe, the capitalist monopoly of national politics has been smashed, and strong Labor, Socialist or Communist parties contest the elections with one or more capitalist parties. These are campaigns involving genuine issues and presenting the voters with a choice. That's why the people of these countries, unlike Truman's Americans, are neither "lazy" nor "indifferent."

This brings us back to the pundits who fear that the "two-party system" is in danger. What they really mean is that the two-party facade for one-party rule is in danger. When it will definitely crack depends upon when U.S. labor comes forward. As everywhere else, the sham battles of U.S. politics will be replaced by genuine election fights only when labor steps upon the political scene in its own name. Whether the Democratic Party will fade away before labor's onslaught, as its British counterpart the Liberal Party did, or whether the Republican Party will fall in ruins, or whether both parties will combine against a new working class force, the result will be the same: a class political alignment reflecting the class forces in American society. We shall most likely have to wait until then to see vital political campaigning by the major parties revived in the U.S.

Meanwhile, Stevenson and Eisenhower are running. But, as the Eisenhower-supporting N.Y. **World Telegram** complains: "Ike is running like a dry creek." And Stevenson is running like a dead horse. That's the Democratic-Republican campaign this year, and that's why the vote will probably fall lower than ever.

Notes from the News

THE STALINISTS are not openly endorsing Democrats this year, but in many places they are giving them left-handed support. In New York, the **Daily Worker** reports, the Furriers Joint Council has endorsed all candidates of the American Labor Party — except three running against Democratic Congressmen Klein, Celler and Powell. In Michigan, the Progressive Party decided, after a sharp debate, not to run anybody against Democratic Governor G. Mennen Williams (who signed the Trucks police state law) and Senator Blair Moody. PP leaders argued that running candidates against Williams and Moody would "isolate" them "from the mainstream of labor and the Negro people."

* * *

HAYWOOD PATTERSON died of cancer last week in the Jackson (Mich.) prison hospital. One of the nine victims in the Scottsboro frameup, he spent 19 years in Alabama's prison hellholes, before escaping north. Saved from extradition to Alabama by mass pressure, he was framed again in Michigan on a "manslaughter" charge and sentenced for six to 15 years. Although the prison authorities knew for some time that he was dying of a stomach cancer, they denied him a medical discharge.

* * *

FEW TEARS were shed when Rep. John E. Rankin of Mississippi lost the Democratic nomination to Congress after 32 years' of devoted services to the causes of white supremacy, anti-Semitism, labor baiting and witch hunting.

* * *

JOB INJURIES increased in 1950 and 1951, so that the 1951 figure was 12% higher than in 1949. About 16,000 lost their lives and 2,000,000 others suffered lost-time injuries in 1951. Injuries were declining in the four years before 1950, but beginning with the Korean war the trend changed, partly or mainly because of increased speedup.

* * *

A RESOLUTION favoring the outlawing of the Canadian Stalinist party was rejected by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, representing more than one-half million AFL members in that country.

* * *

FEDERAL HOUSING OFFICIALS are working out a plan to make applicants for all housing built with federal funds sign an affidavit that they do not belong to any organizations on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. It is not yet known what effect this will have on present tenants of federal housing projects.

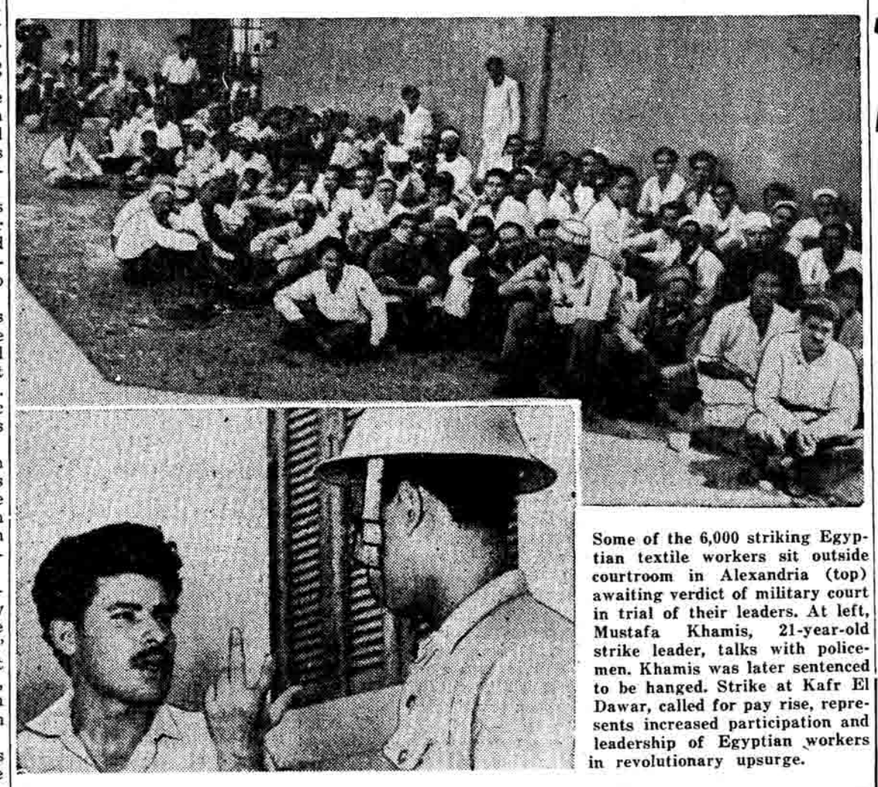
* * *

BRIG. GEN. E. R. THORPE, former intelligence chief for MacArthur, announced that he had withdrawn from a campaign for a Congressional seat in Rhode Island, after unanimous endorsement by the Republican executive committee of that state, because he learned that his "loyalty" was being investigated by the Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps. Not even a Republican general is immune to the witch hunt these days.

* * *

THE NAACP BULLETTIN reports the formation of a KKK Confederate Army. The KKK has taken the initiative to organize all racist and red-baiting groups under one leadership and one program. A conference held in Orlando, Florida, included 97 organizations to fight attempts to end segration.

Egyptian Strike Leader Gets Death



Some of the 6,000 striking Egyptian textile workers sit outside courtroom in Alexandria (top) awaiting verdict of military court in trial of their leaders. At left, Mustafa Khamis, 21-year-old strike leader, talks with policemen. Khamis was later sentenced to be hanged. Strike at Kafr El Dawar, called for pay rise, represents increased participation and leadership of Egyptian workers in revolutionary upsurge.

SHAKY FUTURE SEEN FOR TWO-PARTY SETUP

(Continued from page 1)

Along with Hoover and Taft and MacArthur, he speaks for a powerful segment of the capitalist class. For them the settlement of accounts with American labor and "New Deal Communism" is the primary task, taking precedence over finance-capital's imperialist ambitions abroad.

The McCormick crowd was ground under at the Republican convention by the Wall Street masters who put the world showdown first. But the forces they represent are still very much alive and will one day prove the undoing of the Republican Party.

NEW REALIGNMENT

The new realignment, as Col. McCormick sees it — and correctly! — is the natural unification of the forces of Northern reaction and the Southern Bourbons. This alignment has existed in fact for some time in Washington. Only the war drive, combined with the slow development of big class struggles, has prevented it from finding expression up to now. McCormick sees the new political dispensation under the name of "the American Party." That too is not an inaccurate forecast in our opinion.

The new party which will arise out of the disintegration of the Republican organization will definitely have strong fascist tendencies. It will capitalize on middle class discontent. To a limited extent, this is precisely what the McCormick-Taft-MacArthur combination have been doing up to now. In the absence of leadership from the labor movement, they have been able to exploit middle class grumbling with the Korean war and Atlantic Army aid, which they see as the cause for their present economic difficulties. These hardships, when they become intolerable, will produce the ranks for McCormick's reactionary crystallization. To them, the name "American Party" will undoubtedly signify anti-Wall Street and anti-war as well as anti-labor, anti-Negro and anti-"ism" (whatever that means).

McCormick's statement will probably cast a blacker pall over the frightened liberals and Stalinist fellow-travellers. They are only too prone to see the grim perspective of fascism as their fate. What they cannot yet understand is that the break-up of the two-party system will be a two-sided development and will witness the resurgence of a great political movement of the American workers. That is the ultimate significance of Powell's verbal revolt against the Democratic Party leadership.

POLITICAL ROLE OF NEGRO PEOPLE

The Negro people are the most sensitive segment of the working class movement. A few economic concessions do not assuage the deep wounds of racial oppression. They are, even more than the organized workers themselves, the first to divine and to be affected by the direction of events and political forces.

What happened at the Democratic Party convention was a turn to the right and a serious weakening of the party's coalition with the union leadership in favor of an alliance with the Southern Democrats. Its effects were felt directly and immediately by the Negro people who were presented with a Jim Crow Senator as the candidate for Vice-President. But the significance of this turn is not so obviously apparent to the labor movement even though both candidates have dropped Truman's demagogic anti-Taft-Hartley banner.

Yet the fact is there — even if the Negro people and some of their representatives are still alone in recognizing it. The constituent elements of the Democratic Party cannot hold together under the pressures and strains of the war drive, not to speak of the war itself. It is already apparent that there is no place for the Negro people in this coalition. If the labor movement can still go along as a poor, ignored relation, it is only because the full-scale corporation offensive against the unions and their living standards is not immediately on the order of the day.

But when that day comes — as it inevitably must — the Democratic Party, in office or out, must be one of the vehicles for the anti-labor offensive. And that will sound the death knell for the Democratic Party. It will announce the arrival of independent class politics for the American workers in alliance with the Negro people — and of the Labor Party which will sweep the fascist-like "American" parties of the McCormicks out of their way like so much chaff before the wind.

30,000 Harvester Workers in Strike To Stop Pay Cut

By Frank Roberts

CHICAGO, Aug. 24 — Thirty thousand International Harvester workers, on the picket line since Aug. 14, are determined not to give an inch to company demands for a wage cut averaging 15 cents an hour per man. The company proposed the cuts under the guise of a "re-classification" program, and the Farm Equipment Workers Union, labeling the proposed contract a "yellow dog agreement" has answered with a demand for a 15-cent hourly wage increase.

The company has sent registered letters to over 500 workers informing them of pay cuts. It is carrying on an expensive advertising campaign in the press, in an effort to hide the real strike issues.

With picketing good and morale high, Harvester is preparing to create a "red" scare through hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, conveniently scheduled to be held here next week. Prominent strike leaders have already been subpoenaed by the committee.

A meeting of all unions in the Harvester plants of the Chicago area has decided that if an attempt is made to start a back-to-work movement, all maintenance men, engineers and boilermakers, regardless of union, will quit work. This meeting was attended by representatives of the Farm Equipment Workers (Ind.), the United Auto Workers (CIO), the International Association of Machinists (AFL) and the AFL Engineers.

EISENHOWER HURLS THREAT OF WAR; STEVENSON ECHOES

(Continued from page 1)

sequences of Eisenhower's policy, because he agrees with it.

The policy of pushing the Soviet "influence" back to the borders of the USSR can mean only one thing — war with China, the Soviet Union and all the non-capitalist world.

THE DULLES' LINE

The Republican foreign policy expert John Foster Dulles proclaimed this program months ago, and repeated it on the same day Stevenson made his Legion speech, when he stated in Buffalo, Aug. 27. "Either the Communist bloc can be disintegrated from within" or be destroyed by "a head-on collision."

This is the foreign policy of both the Democrats and Republicans, and has been their policy all along.

Stevenson chose the Legion audience at which to advocate the preservation of our civil rights. His attempt to pose as the defender of the right of a man to "think as he pleases" was pure hypocrisy.

His carefully guarded formulas on this subject sounded imposing because they were delivered before an audience of Legionaires. This was a deliberate and clever device to impress the liberals.

SILENT ON TRUMAN

But Stevenson has not uttered one word of criticism of the drive against civil rights initiated by the Truman administration. Stevenson is a supporter of the "thought control" drive as part of the preparations for all-out war.

The American people need a new foreign policy: We need a policy that will bring us the friendship and not the bitter enmity of the oppressed peoples. We must withdraw all American troops from foreign lands, stop the Korean war, cease interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and fight to preserve our right to advocate such views.

The American people must take their fate into their own hands. Before the militarists plunge us into disaster, the people must assert their right to make the life-and-death decision on war or peace themselves — by popular referendum. That is what the Socialist Workers Party advocates.

MILITANT readers can help to get radio and television appearances for SWP candidates by reporting to SWP Campaign Headquarters, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. any programs on which other parties' candidates speak or are interviewed, whether it is a political appearance or not.

SWP Candidate Labels Sparkman "Polished Bilbo"

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 22 — Assailing both major party candidates as supporters of rampant reaction, Michael Bartell, candidate for the U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers ticket, characterized Adlai Stevenson as a "Taft-Hartley, States Rights Democrat," and Stevenson's running mate, John Sparkman, as "a polished Bilbo." Eisenhower is a "dyed-in-the-wool reactionary," he said, "and Nixon is a 99% McCarthyite."

Speaking at the SWP's opening election rally in New York, Bartell said of both Eisenhower and Stevenson: 'They are helping to further the kind of oppressive atmosphere where all the human rodents sense a clear field and come crawling out of the holes and crevices of society.

"The social and religious bigots, the company stiffs, the stool pigeons with their twisted little minds, inflamed with blind hate and prejudice, with prying eyes and loose mouths, are preaching their gospel of hate and intolerance. They chant: 'Hate the reds. Hate those who tolerate reds. Hate those who refuse to join the pogrom against the reds. The Negroes,' they say, 'are too uppity. The Chinese are monkeys and the Koreans are gooks. The unions are getting too strong. Keep out the non-aryan aliens, throw out those that are here. Jail the dissenter and glorify the stool pigeon.'" Bartell called for a determined stand against the two old parties and the atmosphere they are creating.

Bartell was folowed by David Lewis, chairman of the party's local Speakers Bureau, who spoke in commemoration of the 12th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky by a Stalinist agent in Mexico. Lewis outlined Trotsky's enormous contribution to the building of a revolutionary socialist party in America. "Leon Trotsky spent only two months of his life in our country," he said, "yet the Socialist Workers Party owes more to him than to any other single individual of our time. This is, of course, no more un-American than the indebtedness of Edison to the Italian, Volta; of American radio engineers to the Englishman, Faraday; or for that matter of the American milk industry to the Frenchman, Pasteur. These great men belong more to the world than to their own country," he concluded.

Dobbs to Speak in Newark on Sept. 21

NEWARK, Aug. 29 — The Socialist Workers Party announced today that Farrell Dobbs, its Presidential candidate, will speak in Newark on Sunday, Sept. 21, at 8 P.M., at 52 Market St., corner of Plane.

MINNA BERGSTROM

By Lois Saunders

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 24 — The Los Angeles Local of The Socialist Workers Party suffered a loss this week, a loss that has made us feel sad and depressed.

Minna Bergstrom, a faithful party member and local leader for 18 years, died early Thursday morning after a serious illness which kept her hospitalized for the last seven weeks of her life.

Funeral services were held Friday, and a memorial meeting is being held by the Socialist Workers Party Monday evening.

Minna had been ill much longer than the period of her hospitalization, much more ill than most of us knew. For six years she had been suffering from lukemia, a blood disease for which there is no known cure.

Up to the very last, Minna was not aware there was no hope for her. Valiantly she fought against the disease which constantly sapped her strength.

Frequently she voiced her desire to again play an active role in the movement. One of her last acts was to make certain that her pledge to the party's current fund drive would be paid. Her Marxist library she bequeathed to the party.

Even in the period just before she was hospitalized, Minna continued to participate in the deliberations and discussions of the party. Whenever she was able, she attended meetings, remaining as long as her strength permitted.

Minna joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1934, after breaking with the Proletarian Party because it opposed defense of the Soviet Union.

She immediately plunged into party activity, aiding the strikers in the agricultural fields in this area in 1935-'36. During the rise of the CIO and the establishment of the United Auto Workers in the Douglas and North American plants here in 1937-38, she worked for the regional offices of the UAW. She also was a member of the Office Workers Union for a lengthy period; and played an important role in the Social Workers strike.

Minna was active in civil liberties work, especially in efforts to free the 18 Trotskyists and trade unionists arrested in Minneapolis in 1941; and in the current case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran fired from his clerical job by the Veterans Administration because of his socialist views.

She was especially interested in the educational work of the party. She was at various times branch organizer, and financial secretary and member of the executive committee of the local organization, and was a delegate to several of the national conventions of the party.

Minna was a quiet person, a loyal comrade, a warm friend. Her death is a loss to us all. We miss her.

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